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THE WHITE HOUSE

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MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. GATES  
Deputy Director, Central Intelligence

FRED C. IKLE  
Under Secretary of Defense for Policy

AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
Counsellor, Department of State

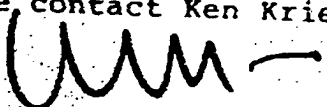
VICE ADMIRAL JONATHAN T. HOWE  
Executive Assistant for the Chairman  
Joint Chiefs of Staff


MICHAEL GUHIN  
Counselor, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

SUBJECT: Meeting on INF Ratification

Attached is the final version of the gameplan that we discussed at the INF Ratification Strategy and Coordination Group (SCG) meeting held on January 5th. Based on the consensus at that meeting, we will attempt to follow the plan as written.

Please contact Ken Krieg at 456-2702 if you have questions.

  
Rhett Dawson  
Assistant to the President  
for Operations

  
John D. Negroponte  
Deputy Assistant to the  
President for National  
Security Affairs

Attachment:

Final Gameplan (C)

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January 5, 1987

INF RATIFICATION GAMEPLAN -- 4-26 JANUARY

**Purpose.** To<sup>6</sup> finalize a specific plan for activities during January, 1988, in support of the submission of the INF Treaty by the President to the Senate for its advice and consent.

**Assumptions.** The assumptions listed below drive the detailed plan.

- a. The INF Treaty Submission Package will include the following items:
  1. a cover letter from the President;
  2. the INF Treaty; and,
  3. the Secretary of State's report to the President on the Treaty.
- b. The INF Treaty Submission Package will be forwarded to the Senate on Monday, January 25th.
- c. The INF Treaty Text is already available to the Senate. The final text of the Secretary of State's report will be provided to the Senate leadership informally by Friday, January 15.
- d. The INF Treaty Negotiating Record Package will include:
  1. memoranda of all conversations between US and Soviet delegations involving the INF Treaty;
  2. copies of all papers handed over between these delegations;
  3. portions of memoranda kept on Ministerial meetings which contain discussions/negotiations on the INF Treaty; and,
  4. copies of all papers on INF exchanged at Ministerial meetings.
- e. The INF Treaty Negotiating Record Package will not include:
  1. internal USG documents or papers;
  2. the internal USG instructions for the INF negotiations; or,
  3. written diplomatic exchanges between the USG and its Allies on the INF Treaty.
- f. The INF Treaty Negotiating Record Package will be forwarded to the Senate separately on Monday, January 25th.
- g. The Byrd/Quayle Report prepared by the Department of Defense will be forwarded to the Congress separately on Monday, January 25th.
- h. The Response to NSDD 284 prepared by the Department of Defense will not be forwarded to the Congress.
- i. The Administration will submit a Unified Supplemental Monitoring Budget Request, covering cost for the OSI Monitoring Bureau and related activities, to the Congress separately on Monday, January 25th.
- j. The Administration will respond to all Congressional correspondence containing questions about the INF Treaty received by Friday, January 15th, no later than Monday, January 25th.

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Gameplan.Monday, January 4

- STATE/Sofaer circulates final version of the Secretary of State's Report on the INF Treaty for final, senior level review to the Legal Review Group and to selected senior policy players (to include Kampelman, Nitze, Ridgway, Holmes, Glitman, Rowny, Ikle, Howe, Castillo, Guhin, and Linhard).

Tuesday, January 5

- Dawson/Negroponte Group meets to accomplish the following actions.
  - Finalize this gameplan (NSC/Linhard).
  - Discuss the STATE/HILL exchanges on the INF Negotiating Record issue and the proposed SecState Letter on that subject (STATE/Kampelman).
  - Review:
    - the hearing schedule during January and February (WH/Ball);
    - the plan for establishment of the STATE INF Task Force and its role in the process (STATE/Kampelman); and
    - the plan for establishment of an INF Team Office on the Hill during the hearings period (WH/Ball-STATE/Kampelman).
  - Agree on requirements for a detailed plan and responsibilities for targeting briefings and materials to the Hill (WH/Ball).
  - Review status of:
    - Blue Ribbon Group of leading private citizens (WH/Dawson);
    - support from business (WH/Range);
    - grass roots support (WH/Range);
    - plans for the use of visiting Allied policy makers in support of the ratification process (STATE/Kampelman);
    - 4 INF briefing teams (NSC/Steiner); and,
    - briefings for:
      - think tanks (NSC/Steiner);
      - former SecStates (STATE/Kampelman);
      - former SecDeas (DEFENSE);
      - former National Sec Advisors (NSC/Steiner);
      - former members of the JCS (JCS);
      - former arms control negotiators (ACDA); and,
      - other key policy figures (STATE/Kampelman).

Wednesday, January 6

- Legal Group (Culvahouse) meets to accomplish the following actions.
  - Review:
    - this gameplan for supporting actions;
    - status of the Secretary of State's Report on the INF Treaty; and,
    - status of the INF Negotiating Record Package development.
  - Develop its group workplan to support the activities of the Dawson/Negroponte Group.

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Thursday, January 7

- Senior level reviewers provide final clearance on the Secretary of State's Report on the INF Treaty to STATE/Sofaer.
- INF Support Group (Steiner) meets to accomplish the following actions.
  - Review this gameplan for supporting actions.
  - Begin planning for public activities in support of the formal and informal deliveries of materials to the Congress.
  - Review the planning for substantive support for Congressional hearings.
  - Develop its group workplan to support the activities of the Dawson/Negroponte Group.
- Legislative Group (Ball) meets to accomplish the following actions.
  - Review this gameplan for supporting actions.
  - Begin planning for the formal and informal deliveries of materials to the Congress.
  - Review the planning for Congressional hearings.
  - Develop its group workplan to support the activities of the Dawson/Negroponte Group.
- Dawson/Negroponte provide update and status report to Baker.

Friday, January 8

- STATE (Sofaer) circulates INF Negotiating Record for review.
- DEFENSE circulates DoD Byrd/Quayle Report for review.
- WHITE HOUSE (Dawson) distributes written plan for establishment and briefing of Blue Ribbon Group.
- WHITE HOUSE (Range) distributes written plan for focusing support from business and establishing a grass roots support network.
- The following named agencies circulate plans for the accomplishment of briefings to the groups listed for review:
  - think tanks (NSC/Steiner);
  - former SecStates (STATE/Kampelman);
  - former SecDepts (DEFENSE);
  - former National Sec Advisors (NSC/Steiner);
  - former members of the JCS (JCS);
  - former arms control negotiators (ACDA); and
  - other key policy figures (STATE/Kampelman).
- The INF SUPPORT GROUP (Steiner) circulates plan for: (1) the finalization of the 4 INF briefing scripts; (2) the use of 4 INF briefing teams; and (3) review of the briefings by other groups.
- STATE INF Task Force (Kampelman) circulates its proposed plan for using visiting Allied policy makers in support of the ratification process.

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- The WHITE HOUSE (Ball) circulates its plan for targeting briefings and materials to the Hill.

Monday, January 11

- Secretary of State's Report on the INF Treaty delivered to WHITE HOUSE.
- Legal Group (Culvahouse), Legislative Group (Ball), INF Support Group (Steiner), STATE INF Task Force (Kampelman) circulate their general workplans to support the Dawson/Negroponte Group activities.
- Legislative Group (Ball) circulates plan for informal distribution of the Secretary of State's Report on the INF Treaty to the Senate leadership.
- STATE INF Task Force (Kampelman) circulates its plan for coordinating its answers to outstanding Congressional questions about the INF Treaty.

Tuesday, January 12

- Dawson/Negroponte Group meets to accomplish the following actions.
  - Finalize:
    - the Secretary of State's Report on the INF Treaty prior to informal release to Senate leadership (STATE/Kampelman); and,
    - the plan for WHITE HOUSE (WH/Ball) informal distribution of Secretary of State's Report (Ball).
  - Review the status of questions asked by the Congress about the INF Treaty (STATE/Kampelman).
  - Conduct first review/discussion of:
    - the INF Negotiating Record Package (WH/Culvahouse); and,
    - the DoD Byrd/Quayle Report (DEFENSE).
  - Review the supporting gameplans provided by:
    - the Legal Group (WH/Culvahouse);
    - the Legislative Group (WH/Ball);
    - the INF Support Group (NSC/Steiner); and
    - the STATE INF Task Force (STATE/Kampelman).

Wednesday, January 13

- Agencies provide comments on the following:
  - to STATE/Sofaer on INF Negotiating Record; and,
  - to DEFENSE on DoD Byrd/Quayle Report.
- Dawson/Negroponte provide update and status report to Baker/Powell.

Thursday, January 14

- Unified Supplemental Monitoring Budget Request provided to appropriate agencies for review by DEFENSE.

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Friday, January 15

- The following products are circulated for final review:
  - the Presidential Transmittal Letter (NSC/Steiner);
  - the INF Negotiating Record (STATE/Sofaer); and,
  - the DoD Byrd/Quayle Report (DEFENSE).
- WHITE HOUSE (Will Ball) makes informal distribution of Secretary of State's report on the INF Treaty to Senate leadership.

Monday, January 18

- Agencies provide final comments on the following products:
  - the Presidential Transmittal Letter to NSC/Steiner;
  - the INF Negotiating Record to STATE/Sofaer;
  - the DoD Byrd/Quayle Report to DEFENSE; and,
  - the Unified Supplemental Monitoring Budget Request to DEFENSE.
- Legislative Group (Ball) circulates updated plans for first two weeks of hearings on the INF Treaty.
- STATE INF Task Force (Kampelman) circulates:
  - its initial plan for focusing Allied support during ratification process; and
  - its proposed responses to outstanding Congressional questions to Agencies and to INF Support Group (Steiner) for final review.
- INF Support Group (Steiner) finalizes coordination of scripts for 4 INF briefing teams.

Tuesday, January 19

- Dawson/Negroponte Group meet to accomplish the following actions.
  - Finalize:
    - the President's transmittal letter to the Senate (NSC/Steiner);
    - the INF Negotiating Record Package (WH/Culvahouse); and,
    - the DoD Byrd/Quayle Report (DEFENSE).
  - Review:
    - status of the Unified Supplemental Monitoring Budget Request (DEFENSE);
    - plans (Legislative Group) for the handling of the first two weeks of hearings on the INF Treaty (WH/Ball); and,
    - plans (STATE INF Task Force) for focusing Allied support (STATE/Kampelman).
- STATE INF Task Force (Kampelman) provides the WHITE HOUSE with the final version of the INF Treaty for inclusion in the INF Treaty Submission Package.

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Wednesday, January 20

- STATE INF Task Force (Kampelman) provides final responses to outstanding Congressional questions to WHITE HOUSE.
- DEFENSE submits final version of coordinated Unified Supplemental Monitoring Budget Request to the WHITE HOUSE.
- Dawson/Negroponte brief Baker Powell.

Thursday, January 21

- Dawson/Negroponte Group meet to accomplish the following actions.
  - Finalize:
    - plans for delivering the INF Treaty Submission Package to the Senate (WH/Ball);
    - plans for delivering the INF Negotiating Record Package to the Senate (WH/Ball-STATE/Kampelman);
    - plans for delivering the DoD Byrd/Quayle Report to the Senate (WH/Ball-DEFENSE);
    - plans for delivering the Unified Supplemental Monitoring Budget Request to the Congress (WH/Ball-DEFENSE-OMB);
    - the White House announcement and public affairs activities associated with these deliveries (NSC/Steiner);
    - the responses to outstanding Congressional questions on the INF Treaty developed and coordinated by the STATE INF Task Force (STATE/Kampelman); and
    - plans for first two weeks of hearing on the INF Treaty (WH/Ball).
- INF Treaty Submission Package provided to White House Clerk (Dan Marks) for preparation for transmission to the Senate on Monday, January 25.

Monday, January 25

- The following items are delivered to the Senate:
  - the INF Treaty Submission Package (by WHITE HOUSE);
  - the INF Negotiating Record Package (by STATE);
  - the DoD Byrd/Quayle Report (by DEFENSE);
  - the Unified Supplemental Monitoring Budget Request; and
  - responses to outstanding Congressional questions about the INF Treaty (by STATE).

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Tuesday, January 26

-- Dawson/Negroponte Group meet to accomplish the following actions.

- Review status of:
  - Blue Ribbon Group (WH/Dawson);
  - support from business (WH/Range);
  - grass roots support (WH/Range);
  - plans for use of visiting Allied policy makers (STATE/Kampelman);
  - the STATE INF Task Force plan for enlisting Allied support on the ratification effort (STATE/Kampelman);
  - plans for Congressional hearings on the INF Treaty (WH/Ball);
  - plans for targeting briefings etc. following-up on the deliveries to the Senate (WH/Ball);
  - 4 INF briefing teams (NSC/Steiner); and,
  - briefings for:
    - think tanks (NSC/Steiner);
    - former SecStates (STATE/Kampelman);
    - former SecDepts (DEFENSE);
    - former National Sec Advisors (NSC/Steiner);
    - former members of the JCS (JCS);
    - former arms control negotiators (ACDA); and,
    - other key policy figures (STATE/Kampelman).
- Discuss the gameplan to cover the next period of activity (NSC/Linhard).

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MEETING OF THE  
INF RATIFICATION STRATEGY & COORDINATION GROUP (SCG)

Tuesday, January 12

AGENDA

- I. Complete the unfinished agenda of the January 5th meeting by reviewing the status of:
  - a. plans for the use of visiting Allied policy makers (STATE/Kampelman);
  - b. the 4 INF briefing teams (NSC/Steiner); and,
  - c. briefings for:
    1. think tanks (NSC/Steiner);
    2. former SecStates (STATE/Kampelman);
    3. former SecDeFs (DEFENSE);
    4. former National Security Advisors (NSC/Steiner);
    5. former members of the JCS (JCS);
    6. former arms control negotiators (ACDA); and,
    7. other key policy figures (STATE/Kampelman).
- II. Finalize:
  - a. the Secretary of State's Report on the INF Treaty (STATE/Kampelman); and,
  - b. WHITE HOUSE plan (WH/Ball) for informal distribution of Secretary of State's Report (Ball).
- III. Review the status of questions asked by the Congress about the INF Treaty (STATE/Kampelman).
- IV. Conduct first review/discussion of:
  - a. the INF Negotiating Record Package (WH/Culvahouse); and,
  - b. the DoD Byrd/Quayle Report (DEFENSE).
- V. Review the supporting gameplans provided by:
  - a. the Legal Group (WH/Culvahouse);
  - b. the Legislative Group (WH/Ball);
  - c. the INF Support Group (NSC/Steiner); and
  - d. the STATE INF Task Force (STATE/Kampelman).

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